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IMPERIAL FELLOWSHIP
OF
SELF-GOVERNED BRITISH
COLONIES

LORD NORTON

RIVINGTONS





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IMPERIAL FELLOWSHIP
OF
SELF-GOVERNED BRITISH COLONIES

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COLONIES

BY
LORD NORTON

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RIVINGTONS
34 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN
LONDON

1903

I AM GRATEFUL
FOR THE PERMISSION, VERY KINDLY
GIVEN ME, TO DEDICATE THESE FEW PAGES, ON
HIS OWN SPECIAL SUBJECT,
TO THE
RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.,
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
WHOSE PRE-EMINENT STATESMANSHIP
A CRISIS IN OUR COLONIAL HISTORY, WHICH REVEALED TO
OUR FIRST FULL CONSCIOUSNESS THE WARM SYMPATHY, AND READY
CO-OPERATION, OF OUR COLONIES, HAS BEEN MADE
TO RIVET OUR ATTENTION ON THE
AGGREGATE POWER OF
UNITED BRITISH EMPIRE
IN BENEFICENT INFLUENCE FOR THE PEACEFUL, AND
PROSPEROUS, COMMERCE OF
THE WORLD.



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IMPERIAL FELLOWSHIP OF SELF-GOVERNED BRITISH COLONIES

I. *Introduction.*

COLONIZATION is pre-eminently a British faculty. No nation of modern times has colonized in the same idea, or with such great results. While other nations have possessed themselves of territory for their aggrandizement, or for military or commercial establishments, we have gone out from our pent-up Island Home on private enterprise, to find open space across our ocean thoroughfare to set up our home institutions again elsewhere. Such is the genuine process of British colonization. It is the spreading of a nation possessed of the freest constitution of government in the world in distant communities, possessed of the same constitution under one Sovereign Head.

Our Colonists may not all be the first occupants of new territory. Some are Settlers on lands acquired by conquest or cession. But

these soon assume the British life and habit. The established British Colony thrives by self-administration, grows in freedom, and becomes an integral part of the whole British Empire. If anyhow deprived of its vital freedom it disconnects itself from Imperial fellowship. The offspring of England will not endure the position of an inferior.

There are Crown Colonies where, from a population of inferior races, or from other causes, there is incapacity of self-government; and there are British Stations, military or commercial, as to which the Duke of Wellington exclaimed "You might as well think of a Parliament on board ship."

The Greeks, the greatest colonizers of ancient times, called their colonies "Homings-off," and they differed from Roman stations just as ours from like dependencies. Lord Rosebery well defended our Sovereign's description on the coinage as "Britanniarum Rex," He is King of Britains, and Emperor of the Indies.

II. *Three Periods of Colonizing History.*

First, Men of enterprise occupied distant territory, having Charters from the Crown of full right to self-government; the infraction of which Charters broke the colonial connection.

Then Colonies were established to be

governed from Home, but they soon acquired their own self-government.

Lastly, Colonies were allowed full national character, and have so arrived at Imperial fellowship.

III. *First Period.*

The British have not been the pioneers of territorial discovery. Genoa, Venice, Madrid, and Amsterdam, would dispute any such pretension. But such discovery by others has been turned to best practical account by the British nation.

After Columbus had opened the new world to Spain, our Henry the Seventh sent Cabot to appropriate whatever territory he could secure to English enterprise, in his name. Our great Elizabeth first established Colonies in America in this fashion. The Patent she gave to Sir Walter Raleigh guaranteed all rights of Englishmen to the occupiers of his settlement, which was named Virginia after her. It invested him "with all powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction over inhabitants of the territory he might occupy; with the sole limitation that his laws must be, as much as possible, in conformity with, and not derogatory from, the Statutes, and the Policy, of England, or allegiance to the English Crown."

Under James the First's Charters, two rival

Companies, respectively, developed Virginia, and set up New England. The Colonists were "to enjoy the same liberties, and privileges, in their American Settlements as if they had remained, or been born, in England." But the arbitrary spirit of James saw nothing inconsistent with this freedom in putting local American administration under London Boards of Control. The first popularly elected American Colonial Legislature was, however, constituted in 1610.

Charles the First began his reign by even exaggerating the arbitrary colonial policy of James, but his troubles with his own Parliament taught him to avoid incurring more trouble from the like spirit of the Colonists; and he instructed a new Governor, Barkeley, "to recognize in the amplest manner the legislative privileges of the Provincial Assembly." His subsequently firm maintenance of their constitutions so warmly attached these Colonies to the Monarchy that they were the last to submit themselves to the Commonwealth. He gave a liberal Charter to the Roman Catholic Settlement of Maryland, which was led out by Lord Baltimore, being cut out of Virginia, and named after Henrietta Maria. It was held by the proprietary on terms of fealty, expressly given free representative government, and covenanted exemption from any English taxation, or interference of any kind with the management of their own affairs.

The Commonwealth at once crushed the Loyalists of Virginia, and soon showed their view of colonial relationship to be that of subserviency to English interests at home. Within a year of Charles's execution the Navigation Act was passed, which while giving a slap to Dutch presumption of interference, reserved all Colonial commerce exclusively for British shipping. Cromwell, as Protector, 1651, made the Act more offensive by his arbitrary enforcement of it. He gave dispensations to the Massachusetts Puritans, while vigorously prosecuting the Virginian Royalists. But it required all his firmness to postpone till his death the serious outbreak which threatened him.

The easy Charles the Second pacified the Colonies by a restoration of their violated Charters. Charles certainly made a Monarchy seem more liberal than a Republic. Grahame, the best historian of the early United States, observes of this period of their colonial career, that "the principles of government in England "on the restoration of royalty uniformly extended their influence across the Atlantic; but "the Colonists were deemed fellow-subjects "in common with home citizens rather than "the property of the Prince, and their Settlements as extensions of the British Empire" (Hist., vol. 1, p. 360).

But Charles was not strong enough to

mitigate as he wished the execution of the offensive commercial legislation of the Parliament. In vain he gave Charters of almost democratic self-government to Rhode Island, Providence, and Connecticut. A Declaration of Rights was presented to him by the dissatisfied Colonists. What they wanted was perfect equality with their fellow-subjects at home under the British Monarchy.

James the Second's "Quo Warrantos" upsetting Charters, and Proprietary Governments, and his scheme for bringing the Colonies under his arbitrary control, provoked rebellion. The Revolution which his tyrannical action produced at home drew with it the Colonies in its wake. He declared that such independent jurisdictions under his Sovereignty embarrassed his conduct of both Home and Colonial Government. The Colonies felt their allegiance equally embarrassed. The Roman Catholic Maryland alone rejoiced at the birth of his heir.

William the Third gave general hopes of recovered liberty, and the Revolution of 1688 was a favourable event for Colonial self-government, restraining the Crown within constitutional demands, while establishing on sounder principles the Colonial relations with England.

William restored the Charters revoked by James; and by a good choice of Governors, and by fidelity to his own word, he sustained against

much local and home intrigue the vital principle of constitutional self-government.

Colonial Agencies were then established in London for protection of Colonial interests, and to watch proceedings in Parliament affecting them. So began the idea of a Colonial Council, now happily developing itself into an Imperial Institution.

At George the Second's accession Vermont was made a Settlement for soldiers discharged from war, and expressly intended to make a securer frontier towards the South against threatened Spanish invasion.

Conflicts with Colonists of other nations settling in America were now giving a new aspect to our work of colonization.

The Settlement of Georgia was mixed up with the philanthropic schemes of Oglethorpe, and of the Moravian Mission; but the Trustees to whom the Charter was given soon surrendered it. Georgia was the only one of our North American Colonies the foundation of which was aided by the Home Treasury, and Grahame significantly remarks (vol. 3, p. 325), "No Colony excited "more expectation, and none caused more disappointment, probably by the encouragement "given to the first settlers to rely on extraneous "support." The Proprietary Charter being thrown up in disgust, a Provisional Council was set up, followed by a representative government

in British constitutional form. The Colony became instantly vigorous, and itself resisted Spanish invasion with the assistance of Carolina, turning it back to a conquest of Florida for the British Empire.

Sir George Cornwall Lewis, in his "Essay on Dependencies" (c. 2, p. 160), says of the Colonies founded by Englishmen, that up to the "time of our quarrel with them, they were generally put under subordinate governments resting on a democratic basis. England was contented to allow the popular body in the dependency to manage its internal affairs according to its own liking, provided they submitted to the restraints which England imposed on their trade for the sake of promoting her own supposed interest." He adds, "The relation between England and her American Colonies up to the middle of the eighteenth century very closely resembled, as to internal affairs, that between a Greek mother-country and her colony. The interference of the English Government was so small that there was no Department of State specially charged with Colonial superintendence, and all such business was referred to the Board of Trade."

So wrote a great Statesman reflecting on our early Colonial history; and he adds, "After the war it was not our policy to accept any portion of the legislative power of the

“subordinate governments of a dependency in a “body elected by the inhabitants.” He rightly considered “representative legislation” to have been the vital principle of our Colonial government, and that they therefore refused after the war to be any more treated as dependencies.

The relation of British Colonies with the Mother Country was not even that of children with parents, but of adult fellowship with the family to which they belonged, and with equal rights. The emigrants of the *Mayflower*, flying from tyranny at home to freedom in the New World, while retaining their allegiance, composed before they landed their own body-politic, by voluntary compact of the most sacred kind, in the name of God, and as subjects of King James. They proceeded to elect their own officers, and to swear submission to their country's laws. They assumed all criminal and civil jurisdiction among themselves. Without even a charter, or any legal process of incorporation, they gave England an accretion of empire, themselves perfectly equipped for local self-government, and for self-defence. At break of day after their landing the war-whoops of savage Indians summoned them to proof of their self-reliance. As for self-maintenance, no sooner did spring relax the grip of their wintry welcome, than each sowed the seed of his own first harvest in his own allotment of ground.

This true British spirit of self-reliance in the Colonies was, however, constantly met by a similar spirit of self-assertion in the Home Government. It was an ever-recurring conflict lasting through two centuries.

British Colonies, once fully established, whether by occupation, or gradually after conquest, could not rest without self-government. The Parent State, or the Colony, may need co-operation for commerce or for defence; but the co-operation must be mutual and on equal terms.

Through the Mother Country and the Colonies taking different views of their relationship with each other, irritation constantly arose, and sometimes actual rebellion.

But the general sense of identity of interests, and of family affection, prevented final rupture, till a knot formed itself, crucially testing the strain that the bond of union could stand. This knot came at last in the difficulty found in settling reciprocal rights and duties, when engaged with a third party *ab extra* intervening in their joint affairs.

IV. *Colonial Rupture.*

The European wars of the eighteenth century involved our Colonists jointly with ourselves in hostilities with Colonists from France and Spain

settling in America; and the savage native tribes were taken on both sides into alliance. Large armies were sent out from England, and our Colonists fought nobly by their side.

In such joint service questions naturally arose as to fairly sharing the expense incurred.

Calculations began to be made as to the comparative interests each had in the conflict, and its results. We considered that we were fighting mainly for Colonial defence. The Colonists thought we were chiefly interested in aggrandizement of empire and the consequent disputes with Foreign Powers. They even accused us of unfairly depreciating their admitted share in the work. In the arrangement for restitution of conquests at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668, they accused us of restoring some territory which their troops alone had won. At the Peace of Paris, 1763, we made our first distinct demand upon the Colonies to recoup to us the costs we had incurred in fighting for them; to which they as distinctly replied that we had, at least, been fighting as much for ourselves as for them in America; and they further observed that the whole war was more a European than an American affair. The Colonists suspected our conquest of Canada to have had a selfishly Imperial object, injurious to their provincial freedom. Commercial jealousies also increased the mutual contention. Chartered rights were

quoted against Imperial assumption. The Colonists became separately intent on their own particular interests; and the security of their hearths and frontiers engrossed their attention. It was a strain between the claims of Imperial prerogative, and Provincial freedom. The Imperial Ministry were bent on magnifying their own supremacy; and wanted to make the Provinces more conscious of their sub-ordination.

The crucial testing-point at which this strained bond of union gave way was the Imperial assumption of Colonial taxation. This fatal step was taken by Lord Grenville, who announced to the Colonies the passage of the Stamp Act, though demanded in the most conciliatory possible manner, inviting them to name to him any other tax of equal amount that they might prefer. But this favour was only taken to add insult to the injury.

No sooner were the Colonial Assemblies informed by their London Agents of the fact than the ferment was indescribable. The brilliant protest of the future Chatham in the House of Commons could scarcely mitigate the storm.

The speedy repeal of the enacted tax came too late to prevent an irrevocable rupture.

The British Colonies, affronted as fellow-citizens, displayed in the assertion of independence the vast power that was so spurned from Imperial Fellowship.

V. Separation was Reluctant on both Sides.

The tenacity of British Colonial connection was fully demonstrated by the difficulty of its rupture. The attachment of the American Colonies to their Motherland was almost proof against the violation of its most essential conditions. In the last agonies of the lovers' quarrel overtures for conciliation were persistently made on both sides.

Franklin came to England, and at the Bar of the House of Commons declared the willingness of the Colonists to submit to Imperial taxation for *external* objects, though pleading their distinct exemption by Charters from taxation for *internal* concerns without the consent of their own Representatives on the spot.

Lord North actually tried to bring the dispute within Franklin's terms.

It was then that suggestion was first made for Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament; but the Atlantic seemed to be hopelessly wider than the Irish Channel.

We thought at last to save our pride in complete practical concession by the "Declaration Act," asserting the right while remitting the act of taxation. But it was too late. Thirteen Colonies had already banded together in Congress to assert independence.

War ensued, and at the Peace of Versailles, 1783, the world acknowledged the great British Republic to have arisen from the ashes of the first British scheme of colonization.

VI. *Our Colonial Relations were not yet understood.*

The British Government would persistently consider even self-governed Colonies as subservient Dependencies. The preamble of the Navigation Act, 1663, had described them as "H.M.'s Plantations beyond the seas, peopled by subjects of the Kingdom of England." They were looked upon as appendages, not extensions, of the Empire. Their Assemblies were thought analogous Institutions to the Imperial Parliament, not as parts of it—a National Constitution representative of all. Too distant from the centre, they had to sit where they could deal with their own affairs. Only Statesmen of the highest order could then take the full view of equal citizenship being distributed through every portion of a world-wide Empire.

Burke, in his magnificent oration "for conciliation with America," said, "I refuse to consult the Judges of the law. I look to the genius of the Constitution. To deny the first principles of freedom is to break up the unity of the British Empire. You cannot falsify

“the pedigree of our Colonists, and persuade them that they are not sprung from a nation in whose veins the blood of freedom circulated.”

There was a kindly view of Colonial relationship halfway between that of subordination, and that of fellowship, namely, that of filial attachment, but faulty in theory as contemplating ultimate separation as the end. Macaulay, reviewing this period of our colonization (“Hist.,” vol. 5, p. 50), represents the idea of complete Colonial success as involving that of parental abdication. “As Colonies grow stronger the Home Government may easily be more indulgent. No sensible parent treats his son of thirty as he would one of ten years old. The time may come when the Mother Country may find it expedient to abdicate.” He had, however, himself described “the Early Pilgrims” in very different colours, and their ultimate independence, not as a completion, but a violent rupture of natural connection.

Adam Smith gives simply the mercantile view of Colonial relations, and many of his followers, even to the present day, think that our Colonies would be better off in independence. In the “Wealth of Nations” (vol. 2, 355, Ed. 1802) he confesses that “no Colonies made such rapid progress as the English in America, owing to their liberty to manage their own affairs.” But he asserted (p. 443) that “under

“the then system of commercial management
“Great Britain derived nothing but loss from
“the dominion she assumed over her Colonies.
“If interests of trade, and not pride of Empire,
“were the motive, her giving up all authority
“over them would be the best thing for both
“sides.”

Sir George Cornwall Lewis (“Essay on Dependencies,” p. 325, 1st Edition) alike remarks that “admitting the impossibility of modifying
“present opinions of the advantage of extensive
“empire, England has no other course than to
“concede virtual independence, on a system of
“popular local self-government, and abstaining
“almost entirely from any interference.”

We are only now grasping the full meaning of our true Colonial relationship, and the fact that Colonial self-administration, and Imperial fellowship, are not incompatible, but co-ordinate elements in its full development. Bernard Holland’s “Imperium et Libertas” ably illustrates the relation of the two ideas, as not only one of compatibility, but of mutual necessity, in reference to British empire.

VII. *Could Concession have averted Rupture?*

The strain had been long, and of ill-assorted contention. Constant Colonial protest was met by as constant little tentative concessions,

keeping up, and not allaying, the irritation. What might possibly have been the effect of a timely frank abandonment of the unconstitutional demand may be doubtful. But the ties of kinship were getting warped by material calculations of separate interests. The Colonists had thriving establishments, and were past their first youth and training. They began, says Grahame (B. vii. c. i. ; B. xi. c. i.), to theorize on its not being the will of Providence that North America should be subject to a European State. They surmised that Colonial connection, altogether, was only a question of time, and a training process for independence.

VIII. *Was it Inevitable Destiny?*

It certainly may have seemed unlikely that the vast newly discovered hemisphere should be wholly, and for ever, occupied by one of the nations of the old world, even though the freest, and most vigorous of them all. But so it was to be. Our nation has occupied all that great Continent, divided in its occupation indeed by its own dissension, but not ousted from complete possession.

Alexander overran Asia, but his acquisition fell away from Macedon after his death. But the conquest of an autocrat is not comparable

in its grasp with the tenacity of free national expansion.

Our Colonial rupture in America did not come from overgrown territorial extension, but from internal breach of confederate compact.

The rupture, no doubt, worked out the destined course of the world's history.

The gradual development of human government from the Patriarchal Rule of the first families in Asia, through the wider Aristocracy of mediæval Europe, to the ultimate expansion of popular self-government in the remaining space of America, is a course of destiny as natural as clear.

Russia is a link between the two first stages of the course, and England between the latest; and the links retain permanently the characters they unite.

England was selected as the best of the second development for the introduction of the last to its destined quarter. De Tocqueville well describes the Pilgrim Fathers carrying out, across the wide Atlantic, the seeds of government tradition to the virgin soil of social equality. The result was a variety giving a new character to the world's history, while the parent seed still reproduced the original plant by the side of its novel offspring.

The rupture of our Colonial connection developed destiny, but was not caused by it.

IX. *Second Period of our Colonial History.*

The American rupture lost to us all connection with any self-governed Colonies.

But the lesson we should have learnt by it we read exactly the wrong way.

Infraction of self-government had caused colonial rebellion; and we thought to hold new Colonies more securely, by refusing them self-government altogether, and governing them from home. A favourable opportunity for the experiment offered itself at the time, and in the same quarter.

Canada.

The conquest of Canada from the French had given us a territory ready to hand for government, like that of the French, from Metropolitan Bureaux. But the French and British spirits instantly disagreed. Our first Proclamation, which was for civil and religious liberty, so shocked the inhabitants as to provoke a rebellion almost as violent as the invasion of liberty had provoked in our former Colonies. It was necessary for us immediately to pass the "Quebec Act," 1774, in order to pacify the French by guaranteeing to them the continuance of their old laws and customs, with as few English innovations as possible. We, however, established then a Legislative Council practically

representative, which afterwards grew into a full British constitution. As the English population rapidly multiplied, recruited also by Loyalists escaping from the revolted States, we, unwisely, as it proved, thought to please both English and French by dividing Canada into an Upper Province wholly assigned to the one, and a Lower to the other, by the Act of 1791. Like most compromises, it pleased neither party. The stereotyped race-distinction is giving some trouble to this day. At the time it set the "States" constantly intriguing to seduce the separate English; and it set the French in a distinct conflict with more vigorous, and uncongenial, neighbourhood. The great Pitt made, for once, a mistake in American policy, supposing the separation of races would prevent combinations against the Government. Our present African experience shows that the amalgamation of races in a conquered country is the true object to keep in view, not the preservation of peace by keeping fellow-subjects apart. The wisest course at that time in Canada would have been generously, but steadily, to draw French and English together, in equal and joint administration of their common local affairs, and in united allegiance to the Crown.

But the Act of 1791 was an important step towards recovery of right Colonial policy; and it brought harmony in Canada between the

Legislature, and the Executive which was made responsible to it. To both Provinces was given a popularly elected House of Assembly, and the Legislative Council was made as nearly as possible to resemble the House of Lords by its members being nominated for life.

Most loyal spirit was afterwards shown by Canada during the troubles of 1812, warmed by this flush of freedom.

But the English would not be satisfied without more complete local self-government. The French were simply victims of the government, of a local "Family Compact," which caused a series of rebellions, coming to a climax in stoppage of supplies. Their constitution was suspended, but in the very state of suspension it righted itself.

The story was amusingly told by Sir Francis Head, who described himself roused from sleep one stormy night by a message from Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, urging him on the instant to start for Canada to put down the Papineau rebellion. On his arrival he found Papineau *de facto* Governor. He narrowly escaped a threatened "tarring and feathering," and got home again with a lesson to the Imperial Government on the spirit infused even into French subjects in a British Colony.

This was the turning-point in our Second Period of Colonial experience.

X. The Durham Report.

At this crisis a Royal Commission was given to Lord Durham, as Governor-in-Chief of Canada and adjoining Provinces, "for the adjustment of important questions depending in the Provinces respecting their government."

His celebrated Report clearly states the cause, and the circumstances of the existing troubles, in the following words:—

"From the period of the revolt of our first Colonies the Colonial policy of this country had undergone a complete change, and the main object seemed to have been to prevent any similar dismemberment of the Empire. The strange experiment had been tried of governing English Colonies, thousands of miles of ocean intervening, from Bureaux in London. The life and essence of our colonization was overlooked in the one desire of firmly subjecting to us our Settlements abroad. The state of our Colonies which had ensued was that of chronic collision between the Executive and the local Representatives. The people were in resolute hostility to the policy of the Government, and the administration of public affairs was in the hands of a Ministry not in harmony with the recognized popular branch of the Legislature" ("Durham Report," Folio, pp. 27, 28).

Lord Durham suggested, as the first step necessary towards a better state of things in Canada, the termination of race-hostilities by the reunion of the two Provinces. This was effected by the Union Act, 1841, completing for the whole Colony the constitutional reform of 1791.

The Despatch which accompanied this Act showed the conversion of the Imperial Government to the first principles of our true Colonial policy. It deprecated all thwarting of the popular Assemblies by the Executive, or checking of the career of their leading men. Governors were instructed not to oppose anything that the Assemblies desired which did not affect the honour of the Crown, or interests of the Empire.

The Act established for all united Canada a Council of Crown Nominees for life, with a freely elected Assembly of equal numbers from each Province.

XI. *Society for Reform of Colonial Government.*

The Durham Report was the inspiration of a very remarkable man, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who accompanied Lord Durham to Canada. He was the leading authority at the time on the subject of colonization, both as to the exploitation of new Settlements by the right mode and use of the land-sales, and as to the government

by the Settlers of their own local affairs when constituted as a self-governed Colony. Lord Grey was the Colonial Secretary at the time, and an abler or more high-minded Chief the Office never had. But his idea was paternal government by the Crown of Colonial subjects ; or, at best, the training of them for gradual independence. The very distance, on account of which separate government was necessary, made his kind attentions more galling, from inevitable ignorance of what was locally wanted. It not only deprived the Colonists of the English habit of self-administrative life, but made local Colonial affairs the battle-ground of Party politics at home.

To rescue the most vital of all English enterprises from this fatal error, Gibbon Wakefield bethought himself of associating the few he could find who had practical knowledge of, and interest in, the subject to devote themselves to arousing public attention, and obtaining the requisite legislation for improved Colonial government.

Among the Associates should first be named John Robert Godley, whose son, Sir Arthur Godley, is now Under Secretary for India. He had not only shown himself master of the subject in writings, but had personally illustrated the true theory in practice by leading out the Colony of Canterbury in New Zealand perfectly constituted on the principles of English self-

administration, and with provision for the highest moral as well as material interests of a healthy community. "A king of men" was the Homeric estimate of him pronounced by Gladstone, who was also an Associate. His record is thus written on a tablet in Harrow Chapel, by another distinguished Associate, the late Lord Lyttelton—

"Infirmâ valetudine præpeditus ne ad summa
"progederetur, æqualium mentes ad majorum
"præcepta, quibus coloniæ non tam regendæ
"quam creandæ sunt, inter primos revocavit."

Lord Wodehouse, afterwards Earl of Kimberley, was another Associate in favour of the reform advocated; while other such eminent men as Sir William Molesworth, Roebuck, Joseph Hume, Cobden, and Milner Gibson joined the Association seeking for reform in a very different sense, that is, the commercial. Robert Lowe brought Australian experience, with his great ability, to the discussions, taking Wakefield's view.

I keep the Records of this Society, of which I was Secretary. Between the years 1850-53 it perfectly achieved its work. The Constitution of New Zealand, in the full idea of British national government, was drafted on my terrace at Hams by four of these Associates, pacing up and down it; and all subsequent Colonial constitutions have followed suit. So the Association was dissolved, having fulfilled its work.

XII. *Canada after its Provincial Union.*

In 1841, when the Union Act passed, the true idea of Colonial Policy had scarcely fully recovered itself.

In 1847, Lord Elgin, who was Lord Durham's Son-in-law, assumed the Canadian Governorship, with full instructions to carry out the recommendations of the Report. This he did most heartily, in the face of riotous opposition. The local "Race"-contention raged; and English politics, then running strongly for "Free Trade" against Canada's bent, tried the firmness of his constitutional impartiality and fidelity.

Disloyal thoughts of self-annexation to the "States" began to stir the Colonies. But the freedom of the Union Act gave loyalty the prevalent vote, as was soon proved by an actual raid of Fenian invasion being repulsed by Volunteers alone. In the face of Republican rivalry the free British Monarchical Institutions held their own in America. Lord Elgin could fairly boast, at his departure from Canada, that he left a united Colony loyally attached to the British Monarchy.

Sir Edmund Head followed him, and for seven years successfully maintained his constitutional policy. Local enterprise followed local government, with the spirit of self-reliance. The opening of the Grand Trunk Railway, and

co-operation in developing Transatlantic communication, date from the emancipation of this spirit.

Self-defence was soon recognized as a necessary correlative with self-government. A Canadian Militia was constituted, and the 100th Regiment was added to the Imperial Army, wholly raised in Canada. Lord Monck, the next Governor, sent his Prime Minister, Macdonald, to England to arrange a joint scheme for Canadian fortifications.

In 1865 the "Colonial Naval Defence" Act was passed, which was the first legislative provision for Colonial naval responsibility, and an appeal to Colonial ambition to assume full Imperial fellowship.

XIII. *Canadian Dominion.*

British Colonies, in true constitutional condition of government, naturally seek for sufficient power to manage successfully their own affairs. Too distant to be represented in the central seat of legislature, they needed to collect their powers on the spot for local action. Their interest was to group all adjacent communities for co-operation, both for intercourse among themselves, and to become adequate for valid partnership in the concerns of the whole Empire. Lord Monck had told the Canadians very plainly

that to assume a national position, or relation of equality with their neighbours, or partnership in the Empire, they must not remain a collection of isolated Provinces. The Home Government also has its own interest in strong Colonial consolidation in America. Sir Edmund Head had gone so far as to announce publicly that it was considered an essential part of Imperial policy.

The Maritime Provinces first made overtures for a legislative Union, in 1864, and Canada accepted their terms in a Conference at Quebec, where resolutions were passed resulting in a Federation Bill, afterwards adopted by the Imperial Parliament *ipsissimis verbis*, as "The Canadian Dominion Act, 1867." Lord Carnarvon had the satisfaction to present this great measure to the House of Lords, and it was my good fortune, as Under Secretary, to have to carry it through the Commons.

The 1st of July is the anniversary kept in London as enthusiastically as at Ottawa, when Imperial and Provincial Union are joined in hearty celebration and in every patriotic song, from National Anthem to the Maple Leaf.

The terms of the Dominion Act show the strong desire there was to make it as closely as possible a transcript of the British Constitution. The Lower House of Legislature is called the House of Commons, and is formed on the

same principle of representation, both of localities and of numbers. The Senate is composed of the nearest possible imitation of life-peerages. The scope of legislation is as free as at home, avoiding only anything repugnant to Imperial enactments.

The result of its working, now for thirty-six years, has been the strongest possible growth of loyalty, mutual attachment, and Imperial fellowship.

North America has thus been the scene of the whole series of our colonizing experiences ; itself deriving its own special characteristic from the failure of our first experiment.

The cause of that failure was the breach of British constitutional conditions. The aggravation of that breach in our second experiment elicited the recuperative power of our national character — the *vis medicatrix naturæ* — the Colonies assuming self-government to themselves.

Colonial spirit emancipated now breathes freely in company, and in sympathy, with the giant product of its first rebuff.

XIV. *Australia.*

Another group of British Colonies has occupied the whole Island-Continent of the Southern Hemisphere, now called Australia.

Captain Cook took possession of a Frenchman's previous discovery, which had not been followed up, and hoisted the British flag on a shore of floral beauty, giving it the name of Botany Bay. Vile use first deflowered it, but colonizing enterprise has gloriously re-christened it as Sydney.

We used it as a place wherein to deposit our criminals out of our sight, excusing the plan as possibly beneficial to the criminals as well as to ourselves. I have no dearer memory than my share in abolishing transportation. The first convicts were sent out in 1787, and the practice was extinguished by Order in Council, 1852.

The Colonists soon insisted on their better right to occupy a land which offered such a splendid opening to the most vital of British enterprises. Our Home Office strove long with our Colonial Office in favour of its penal use against that of enterprise. The Colonists were bribed to accept convict labour in equal consignments with free emigrants. But the bribe was scouted. The cure of home-bred crime had to be undertaken at home, and the Colony was set free.

The government of a depository of criminals was, of course, military; but no sooner had colonists occupied the land than constitutional self-government was demanded by them.

First, only a Council was attached to the Governor by an Act of 1823; but in 1842 a

Legislative Council was constituted, two-thirds of which was popularly elected.

An Act of 1850 extended this constitution to the other Colonies which had sprung up in Australia; and even gave them all constituent power to widen still further their franchise as they pleased.

Gold discovery disturbed the order and equanimity of the Settlers as appeared from their wild exercise of the constituent power lately given them, in passing Reform Bills which were disallowed.

But the friction between Governors and Assemblies was amply compensated by the life infused into Colonial self-government, and by the practice which it gave for future fellowship in British Empire.

The emancipated citizen-spirit immediately evinced itself in great local undertakings. Besides railways, and irrigation works, and a great scheme of national education, these first contributions were volunteered to the Imperial Navy and Army. When the French Government proposed to occupy the New Hebrides for a deposit of their criminals, the wrath of Queensland was aroused so patriotically as to offer ships of war to undertake, at once, under the orders of the Imperial Admiralty, to eject the few arrivals from France already come. It was not necessary for us to risk a quarrel with

France by ourselves taking action. The spirit shown by our Colonial fellow-subjects deterred France from prosecution of the offensive project.

About the same time Queensland wanted to annex the western half of New Guinea in order to improve the Imperial boundaries ; but objections raised by the Home Government, followed by a German annexation, caused this scheme to be modified. The Colony did, however, a signal service to the Empire entirely of its own accord.

XV. *Australian Commonwealth.*

The rapid growth and increasing number of settlements in Australia early led their statesmen, in spite of strong mutual jealousies, to see the necessity of confederation, both for efficiency in internal common affairs, and for commerce with the world. The predominance of the labour class in the Assemblies elected by universal suffrage narrowed public opinion, and clogged with ignorance the action of the Legislature. The Provinces separately situated round a vast central desert had little sense of community, and no one line of possibly hostile frontier suggested, as in Canada, the necessity of co-operation for defence.

Frequent discussions, however, among the more enlightened, on necessary amendment of

the Constitution Acts of 1840 to 1850, spread much wider views of united action. A scheme of even Imperial federation was actually drafted, wild, and obviously at least premature. But in 1887 the discussion became more practical, and preliminary measures were taken to promote Provincial union.

In 1889 Sir Henry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, thought public opinion sufficiently ripened for him to propose a step to be taken for bringing all the Provinces together to a common Council. He appealed to each Government to send a Representative to negotiate terms of union.

In a Convention, 1891, was issued a definite proposal for a Federal Parliament of two Chambers for all Australia.

Financial troubles intervened, distracting and depressing the Australian mind, and conference was suspended for some time, till public meetings in several Provinces rallied general attention, and in 1896 all the Legislatures, except Queensland's, passed Acts enabling their Premiers, with full powers, to negotiate terms together. In 1900 the "Bill for a Commonwealth," to include all the Colonies, was drafted at Sydney, which was brought to England by a very large deputation, and passed through the Imperial Parliament, without any alteration, as "The Australian Commonwealth Act."

Its terms showed the same desire for complete identity with the Home Constitution, and for Imperial fellowship, which had been shown in Canada.

XVI. *South Africa.*

Another quarter of the globe is now offering a promise of similar expansion of the British Empire.

Our first connection with South Africa came by conquest from the Dutch, who, having established a Settlement in 1752, remained there in possession, though not in power, and latterly with British assistance, till 1806, when they had to haul down their flag at the Cape of Good Hope, without firing a shot to defend it, to the Mistress of the Seas. At the Grand Pacification of Paris, 1814-15, the Cape was finally acknowledged a British Possession.

The value we attached to it, at the time, was as a halfway station on the way to India. It was governed by a Council of Magistrates (Land-roosts), for which we substituted, appropriately, a Military Government. For many years we were wholly engaged in war with Kafirs pressing down from the north on the frontier territory which the Dutch had cleared of Hottentots captured as their slaves.

The Boers had, in 1793, nearly succeeded in

establishing themselves as a Republic independent of Holland ; and when we introduced better government and resolved to terminate the guerilla Kafir warfare, and forbad their slave traffic, they trekked *en masse*, and set themselves up as an independent Republic beyond the Orange River. Sir Harry Smith was sent out as Governor and High Commissioner in 1834, with 5000 troops from home ; and not only secured our conquest, but extended it far westward against Kafir invasions. A vacillating policy at home, alternating, with every change of Ministry, for and against annexation of territory, took the turn of abnegation by repudiating this necessary and hardy-won extension of territory.

In the next turn of policy (1847) the Queen's Sovereignty was proclaimed to embrace the whole country, including what the Boers had trekked to ; but, over that annexation, instructions were sent that " only such authority should be exercised as to allow the native farmers to manage their own affairs." Such semi-independence gave no satisfaction to the Boers, and they trekked still further northward across the Vaal, and there set up their independent Republic again.

When our policy veered round again against annexation, the Transvaal Boers were formally relieved from their allegiance, and all beyond the Orange was abandoned to the Dutch. I

raised a protest in the House of Commons against a dissolution by Order in Council of obligations and jurisdictions set up by Act of Parliament.

In 1849 Lord Grey infuriated the Cape Colonists by sending three shiploads of Irish political convicts for them to keep in custody.

I cherish still the happy recollection of having got the House of Commons to support their indignant refusal to let the convicts land. To this hour I receive continual records of their high appreciation of this assertion of their superiority to any such demand of home service, and only freemen can enter Cape Town by the main thoroughfare of "Adderley Street."

Their success naturally encouraged a renewed demand for complete self-government at the Cape. In 1841 Sir George Napier, as Governor, had supported a Petition from the Cape, asserting their "right to representative legislation which "belonged to all citizens of the Empire." He told the Home Government, what he saw on the spot, that "to the Colonists' want of participation "in the management of their own affairs their "constant discontent was to be attributed." He was answered that diversity of race and sparseness of population beyond its concentration at Cape Town stood in the way. But now the petitioners were resolute, and a free constitution was conceded to them.

In 1854 Sir George Grey undertook the government, coming from New Zealand with ample experience of the capacity of British Colonists, similarly circumstanced, to manage their own affairs. He found the same result in both places.

+ Wherever, and however, the British are once freely settled, a rapid development of civilized institutions, and undertaking of public works, immediately follows, and the habit is assumed of self-administration. In a conquered settlement this national development may be long delayed. Its first want of equipment, and dependence on the Home Country, is not immediately to be got over. After half a century in Africa, the yearly military cost of a million sterling was still incurred by us at home in supposed suppression, but in real maintenance, of Kafir wars, our Commissariat being fruitful of Cape fortunes.

The mere recognition, however, of constitutional rights strongly stirred, though it did not at once fully emancipate, the spirit of the British Colonists. Even the vacillations of Home Policy could not much impede the prevalent extension of the Empire. The whole country, from the Kei to the Orange, including Natal and Kaffraria, and northwards up to Delagoa Bay, seemed to come irresistibly under British sway. The Zulus and Basutos were actually united with Cape Colony. By 1882

almost all South Africa was, directly or indirectly, subject to the British Crown. A British Agency, commercial and political, was voluntarily established by the Sultan of Zanzibar, with a stipulation for abolition of the slave-trade, which Lord Grey nobly maintained to be an inseparable condition to any friendship with us.

The great discovery of gold and of diamonds disturbed the steadiness of our African colonization, and attracted rival claimants to adjacent territory. The Dutch Republics became restlessly ambitious for extension of their bounds.

But in 1884, as is well described in Scott Keltie's "Partition of Africa," Germany's newly united Empire entered the field of Colonial competition with us. All the European Powers made, indeed, a simultaneous rush upon Africa. The sons of Japhet were fulfilling the prophecy of their "enlarging their inheritance, by dwelling in the tents of Ham." The dark continent was receiving light through the shadows of its curse; and in the introduction of brighter days by the advent of civilized nationalities, Great Britain was sure to take the lead, coming *nationally*, and not *governmentally*, into the new field for national occupation.

In South Africa, British colonization had the amplest range, limited only by consideration of climate. Its advance had, at this time,

nearly covered the whole available area, and the time had arrived at which, as in both Australian and Canadian experience, multiplied accretions of territory demanded consolidation for good local self-government, and for adequate capacity for future fellowship with the Empire.

Our policy, still vacillating between extension and contraction of territory, tempted other European Powers, of very different colonizing principles, to break in upon our course.

The Dutch Republics found themselves getting gradually surrounded; and they grandly bethought themselves of suppressing all rival competitions, and asserting their own supremacy in South Africa. A nation of cognate spirit and equal courage, though not equal civilization, with ourselves dared us to single combat. In their own headquarters they refused us terms of equal citizenship, and finally threw down their gauntlet, in formal challenge, to our face.

The war resulting not only decided British supremacy in South Africa, but revealed for the first time to our consciousness the strength of British colonial attachment, and the readiness for co-operation throughout the whole Empire.

The closing year of the nineteenth century witnessed the rally of all British Colonies to Imperial fellowship, which the sixteenth century first called into being, but subsequently lost.

XVII. *South African Federation.*

In 1876 Lord Carnarvon, as Colonial Secretary, introduced a Bill in the House of Lords to enable our South African belongings, and the Dutch States, to federate under one Government. It was supported by his Predecessor in office Lord Kimberley, and only checked in progress by Lord Grey's desire for some delay, while, according to his special theory, the Colonists round Cape Town might be trained to a capacity for sharing in the general self-government. The Bill was stormily debated in the House of Commons, chiefly by Irish members, who illogically connected their contention at the time for Home Rule with opposition to any confederation whatever. There was a strong body of Cape feeling in favour of the Bill, as an end to local strifes, and an important advance towards the completion of self-government. But there was much opposition, and though it passed through Parliament, events came in the way of its ultimate adoption.

The Zulu War occurred in 1879, and the Majuba disaster of 1881 was allowed to draw a mist over British Sovereignty by the interposition of the subtle distinction of Suzerainty to partially obscure it. Some of our Statesmen suffered their impatience and disgust at this time to suggest our falling back from our position in

South Africa to our first occupation of Cape Town. Even Lord Grey expressed regret that we had not so restricted our original settlement, and said that but for an honourable responsibility to some emigrants we had sent out in 1814, who, by-the-by, had made great fortunes since, we might now abandon our troublesome subsequent acquisitions.

In such slight estimation was still held by many, the most vital of all our national enterprises.

Fortunately the English instinct lay strongly the other way. The only question in the country's mind was how best to meet the Dutch competition.

The dispute became a duel between the Dutch and ourselves. A champion was wanted on both sides.

Kruger was ready for the Dutch.

A champion came strangely out for us, sent as an invalid schoolboy from an English Grammar School to recover health, apprenticed to business in the fine climate of Natal. Recovered health disclosed a character of equal force with Kruger's, and of far higher mental aspirations.

The political circumstances of the country suggested to Cecil Rhodes's mind, and engrossed it with, the single thought of consolidating the scattered elements of a great nationality, and uniting rivalries in joint prosperity.

His extraordinary genius embraced the grand idea, and he deliberately planned its realization.

He first returned to England to complete his own education. On his return, he calmly considered the steps he must take gradually to achieve his undertaking.

First he saw that sufficient wealth was necessary; and he acquired it by bold, but careful, investments in the newly discovered diamond mines.

The next step he saw before him was the use of the wealth so acquired in getting a position of sufficient influence. He obtained a seat in the Cape Parliament, where his genius soon gained a dominant power.

His plan was then ripe for execution.

He saw that Dutch ambition was then pushing northward to open empire.

He sprang to impose at once a barrier against their commenced advance, and to secure the important opening northward for himself.

He went to work for this purpose in the true spirit of British colonization, that is to say, by private, rather than by Government, undertaking. He joined the South African Company, chartered, as our first Colonies were, with constitutional rights and self-government. He then proceeded himself to the occupation of the territory beyond the Boer frontier, which was indeed soon to bear his own name as Rhodesia.

He, however, made it clear that his motive was not a racial jealousy of the Dutch, or a desire for domination, but that his plan was simply to bring the whole Continent together under one government of equal, and impartial, fellow-citizenship.

Kruger had made it equally clear that *his* resolution was for Boer supremacy, and meant a denial of equal citizenship to Outlanders, and specially to British rivals.

The unfortunate "Jameson Raid" intervened at this critical moment, a criminal, but abortive attempt, which for a time put Kruger in the right, and Cecil Rhodes on the shelf. There, however, he spent retirement in promoting great railway works, and other objects, in necessary preparation for his great enterprise, of the ultimate success of which he had confident presentiment.

Kruger became desperate, and at last proclaimed war. It took three years of resolute, and costly, conflict for us to win the day.

The peace we made as victors gave us more honour even than the victory itself. Not in the world's history can be found an example of such a pacification between victors and vanquished embracing each other in noblest proof of mutual acknowledgment that each had bravely fought for what they thought their right. The hand of generous friendship was held out, and accepted

generously, and not a day was lost in delay of vigorous restoration from the waste of war, and in equipment of the whole country with every requisite for good government and united welfare, moral and material.

The ultimate object of complete South African Federation has yet to be accomplished, but a great step is already gained in the union of the two great rival Powers with mutual good will, and respect for each other. It must take time to consolidate South African governments in complete federation, and ultimately in aggregate fellowship with the government of the whole Empire.

But the great end to be kept in view in the combination of all such aggregations of self-governed British nationalities is that of realizing the full power of British Imperial influence for the whole world's peace, and general prosperity.

When Mr. Chamberlain returned home from his unprecedented official visit of pacification after the war, he said at the Lord Mayor's enthusiastic reception, "The war was just, and inevitable, which has come to its destined conclusion, bringing with it, he hoped, an enduring peace, and a well-justified expectation of a strong, united, and prosperous South Africa. Now the field was cleared for the working of those natural forces which tended to bring together two kindred races with characteristics of so much

similarity, and to make of them an united nation under the British flag."

South Africa is now on the way of contributing to this great work by becoming an integral part of the United British Empire.

XVIII. *United Empire.*

Canadian Dominion, and Australian Commonwealth, having become great integral parts of the British Empire, and South Africa promising soon to become another, the question presses for more full consideration, how such limbs of Empire may act in concert with each other, and with their head, for all purposes of united action.

They must, obviously, have some mode, and means, of co-operation if in any sense they are to constitute an empire at all.

The question can only refer to such Parts of the Empire as can act together on equal terms of fellow-citizenship in British constitution. Neither Crown colonies, military Stations, nor any kind of Dependency, can take part in Imperial concert, whether for common interests, or to show a national front to the world.

As British fellow-subjects, our self-governed colonists are now saying to us, "If we are to share in action, we must share in council also." They do not even like to be called colonists

any longer, nor should they. They are fully equipped, and practised in self-government, and ready for fellowship in common nationality. The sentiment of community, and identity of interests, is strong enough; the channel for its practical expression is all that is wanted. Ancestral inheritance, pride of glorious history, inveterate habits, kindred institutions, established intercourse, identity of language, community of ideas, and ancient allegiance, are accumulated elements of national unity.

The separate groups of such congenial partnership, in equal possession of free constitutional self-government, only want an organ for conference among them all on common interests.

No Model exists for such a Council.

The Spanish "Council for the Indies" was a fit colonial office for Ferdinand in which to carry on the government of his territorial acquisitions. But it affords no model for a British council of free colonists.

The British constitution offers no place for aggregate Imperial concert.

It gives to the King, in and with Imperial Parliament, the government of Great Britain at home and abroad; and to his vicegerents in self-governed colonies, with their representative parliaments, the control of their local

affairs. But it affords no place for the joint consultation of representatives of all on what imperially concerns them all.

One might hope to get some hint for such a need from the United States Constitution. Drawn complete by its Founders, ablest British Statesmen, in closest possible imitation of ancestral forms, altered only to meet special circumstances which now largely affect our Empire, it might be expected to give example how our need might be met.

It is a service due from our colonies to test in safety possible adaptations of our gift to them of the best constitution in the world. The United States have adapted the old British Constitution to the new condition of an union in one general Government of several internally independent States. Their great and successful enterprise has been achieved in democratic form. Yet our old monarchy undertaking a similar task by embracing several autonomous National offsets in Imperial union, might expect to find some guidance in method from their experience.

The United States' constitution corresponds with ours in all main features.

The President represents our King. In Mr. Bryce's words, He is George the Third, only shorn of part of his prerogatives. ("American Commonwealth," vol. 1, p. 49.)

Congress corresponds with the Imperial

Parliament, and exercises the same legislative functions in matters of national concern. But here at once appears its difference from the United Imperial Council we seek. The legislation extends much further over local interests of adjacent States than our Council could engage itself in the affairs of distant, and sometimes dissimilar, self-governments.

In opening Conference, Mr. Chamberlain showed himself sanguine in hope of a possible Federation of the British Empire like that of the United States. He saw, however, great difficulties in the way—the disproportion in wealth and population of the different members of the Empire, the distance and nature of their separation, and dissimilarity of circumstances—but he maintains that as great difficulties were overcome in American Federation. He allows that it would introduce a great change in our constitutional system; but he sees no objection of principle, and thinks the Government would be justified in considering it. He said to his Conference, “If you are prepared to take your share in the burdens of the Empire, we are prepared to meet you with a proposal for giving to you a corresponding voice in the policy of the Empire. The object might be achieved in various ways.”

It has been suggested that Colonial representation might be given in either, or both,

Houses of Imperial Parliament. But it is scarcely conceivable that Representatives of Canada, Australia, and Africa could be generally admissible to the debates of the Imperial Parliament, or could be capable of taking any common part in many of them. Representatives of all parts of the Empire could only confer on topics of Imperial concern in separate council, which would, indeed, be a new institution, and could not be entrusted with general legislative power. Besides, Imperial policy must emanate from an Imperial Ministry, who could only come into consultation with colonial constituencies in some sort of special congressional council.

Mr. Chamberlain passed quickly from suggestion of Imperial Federation to what he called "the more practical proposition of establishing a real Council, to which all questions of Imperial interest might be referred. In the first instance, it might be only as advisory, but gradually more completely operative with executive functions, and perhaps ultimately even with legislative powers."

He wisely deprecated premature conclusions, and instanced the very Conference he was engaged in as the right sort of step to be primarily taken in approaching the object in view.

The chief subjects to be dealt with in United

Empire Council must relate to Imperial defence, or to the Commerce to be defended.

As to Imperial defence, we have just had an entire revelation, and new ideas, given us by the South African War, with regard to aggregate power, and latent resources, of the Empire. The relationship which had existed had left us neither prepared for, nor conscious of, the emancipated spirit of colonial fellowship. The free spirit of common patriotism instinctively rose, and combined in defence of the threatened Empire.

There was no need, as indeed there was then no time, for preparatory conference. But we learnt what were the abundant elements of Imperial safety in the free spirit of true colonial sympathy.

At the breaking out of war there can seldom be time for general consultation. The Home Ministry had to reply at once to the Dutch ultimatum thrown in their face. No standing council could have weighted that reply with more Imperial significance.

Council conferences are proposed to be "periodical meetings of the principal Representatives of all nationalities which, together with the United Kingdom, constitute the Empire." The first Conference was a preliminary discussion of the great subjects intended for United Empire Council.

Naval Defence.

The Admiralty submitted to this Conference that "the Imperial Navy could not effectively "consist of a localization of naval forces, or "allocation of ships to particular places, but "must be under one supreme authority, acting "on one scheme of strategy, officered, and "manned, from all parts of the Empire. It "must not be supported by mere contributions "of money, but must embrace the spirit of the "whole Empire, if it was our true desire to be "united."

Obviously, such a Navy could not be the sole undertaking of the Mother Country. If that were possible, the so protected colonies would not be parts of the Empire at all, but dependencies. We at home have borne too much, and too long, the burden. Degraded Colonial policy led to a disposition to consider everything "Imperial" as the Mother Country's business. There was no conception of Imperial Fellowship.

In the great matter of Imperial Naval Defence Australia has already led the way to a higher understanding of Imperial co-operation, but only by undertaking its local defence.

The younger Colonies may not yet be able to take their full share in the common task of defending national commerce, but in their present spirit, as they grow in wealth and

population, they will soon be able to bear the burdens equally with the privileges of Empire.

In the late war the offer of full community came to us eagerly from the colonies: and in order to be effective the offer must come from them. But we must not expect to find at once the full Imperial idea to be popularly comprehended, and clear of past obscurations. Much misunderstanding still prevails. For instance, the Chamber of Commerce at Montreal replied lately to overtures from the "British Navy League" that "Canada needs no navy, having no fear of foreign invasion"—a rather confused idea of Imperialism as consistent with Provincial isolation. They fondly dwelt on past protection, and even their merchants conceived their commerce could only be attacked on their shores.

Some French Canadians seem still imperfectly recovered from the effects of racial distinction, and object to contribute to an Imperial Navy which might some day get into conflict with their ancient allegiance; as if they could serve two masters, or pretend a neutrality of double fidelity in wars. Still, this feeling has to be reckoned with.

Whispers are reported from Australia that the great island-continent is too distant from the Old World for common defence, and would do better to defend itself. Warships have been

gratefully accepted as presents from England for their harbour defences, but distant dangers are forgotten, even after so recent a warning as the Russian fleet gave them during the Crimean War. It was only stopped by the sudden peace from actually advancing from Alaska to attack Australia. The Commonwealth, however, is now contemplating a considerable contribution to the Imperial Navy.

While such imperfect views are still remaining, the Conference wisely deprecated all premature arrangement for Imperial Defence.

The Colonial Naval Defence Act of 1865 shows our first idea on the subject to have been to enable colonies to provide men and ships for their local protection, offering them the encouragement of a share in the Royal Naval Reserve. Very little was done under that Act, which hung fire till 1886; and then, at a Colonial Conference on the subject, it was only agreed that the then sole result, the Australian Squadron, should be strengthened by a few cruisers—"never to be removed from Australian waters."

At Mr. Chamberlain's Conference, however, all agreed to a general contribution being the right way for securing the maintenance of an Imperial Navy, ready to be employed wherever the world-wide Empire might require it. "As the Sea is one, the British Imperial Navy must be one."

Military Defence.

The War Office submitted to the Conference their opinion that colonies should not be expected to maintain special forces always in readiness for Imperial service, but that a systematic reciprocity of service should be recognized as due between home and colonial parts of the Empire, which both should be able to count upon as ready and available in every case of need.

The terms and conditions of such agreement were variously viewed.

Colonial establishments kept up for Imperial service seemed to involve interference with the principle of local self-government. The Colonial Parliaments must vote each their own share of Imperial expenditure as part purse-holders. The terms must be arranged by Official correspondence.

A Report of a Departmental Committee, in 1859, puts in striking contrast with the proposals of this sympathetic Conference, the inferior practice of former times. The colonies at that time contributed almost nothing, in cost, or personal service, to the general, or even their own local, defence. In the year preceding that Report our military expenditure in the colonies was four millions, to which only a few contributed trifling and unequal payment, and

hardly any had local forces of their own. The Report ably points out the damage done to both sides by such a state of things.

Commerce.

Questions of commercial interests would frequently come before a United Empire's Council, both of general principles and of endless details, from time to time, affecting the whole, or parts, of the Empire.

Many propositions were suggested in the Conference affecting commercial relations of the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain has thrown out one suggestion of such closer relations with the Colonies as essential to United Empire, to the effect that our one-sided free-trade policy might be well modified by some preferential fiscal arrangement within the Empire.

What the Main Purpose in View.

The object of United Empire Council is to bring all the component Parts of the Empire into closest possible concert on matters of Imperial concern, and in understanding with each other, and with their common Head. It is desired to keep alive the spirit of common patriotism, and to secure its action in full realization of the destiny of the British nation, for its own

expansion, and for the exercise of its beneficent influence throughout the world.

British expansion has never developed itself in a spirit of ambition, or of grasping acquisition. It has sensitively shrunk from causeless annexation, and been guiltless of criminal aggression. Our conquest of India was forced upon us by violent rejection of the petitions of British merchants for permission of rightful traffic. Foreign and Indian warfare led to the establishment of a British Company in self-defence, and the Governors who were sent out were peremptorily, though vainly, forbidden to annex territory, but found it forced through their hands inevitably under British Power. The title by which we hold our great colonies is not that by which other nations have possessed themselves of enlarged dominion—the right of the strongest over those who cannot resist—but that of first occupation of space fairly open to our national expansion, for objects of commercial or beneficent interest; or that of conquest in legitimate warfare. The rightful spread of British nationality has been in the interest of peace, and improvement, throughout the world.

Besides the record of our great colonial history, there is other witness, such as what we have just been doing in Egypt, to the marvellous beneficence of British influence, in the protection and improvement of whatever comes within it.

The vast extent of British Empire neither invites attack, nor stimulates acquisition, but is the healthy growth of vigorous nationality.

Future Prospects.

Such growth of Empire may go on indefinitely while space remains for it.

"Our home is on the deep," whose open surface gives free access, and invitation to our ready enterprise. The British flag covers all our possessions as one; and the loyal hearts of fellow-subjects give the living spirit to that flag's significance.

If desire for union should fail in any quarter, in that quarter union would cease of itself. No sign at present shows itself anywhere but of intense eagerness for still closer union.

But who can say what the great and rapid changes going on in the world will lead to, or what will happen on the way? The incessant warfare now prevailing in the world may be the prophetic sign of the end of war and union of all nations. The present tendency of nations is certainly against severance and isolation, and in the contrary direction of federation, and larger combination.

It is, however, conceivable that our great distant colonies might gradually incline to have separate government either in entire

independence, or in alliance rather than union with the old country.

But whatever may be our future relations, our present interest is to make the most, and best, use of present relations with all the members of our Nation, and to fall in with their desire of union. In Mr. Chamberlain's words "we should do nothing which may now, or ever, make it impossible, or put any limit to the Imperial patriotism of the future."

A healthy national expansion is the distinctive characteristic of British colonization. Its healthiness depends on its pervading spirit of self-government. Its first essay broke down when that was lost sight of. The following attempt, to make Crown Colonies of all, simply proved the self-reliant spirit indomitable. We are now dealing with our great Colonies as in fellowship with ourselves in the aggregate Empire of Great Britain.

Some still undervalue colonial connection altogether. But none can deny the importance of Imperial Fellowship with the great self-governed Colonies which exist or are in process of giving extension to the Empire.

Sustained identity with, and full enjoyment of, the British Constitution is evidently essential, but not all that is essential, to this fellowship. Disruption of colonial connection may result from economical estrangement or divergence

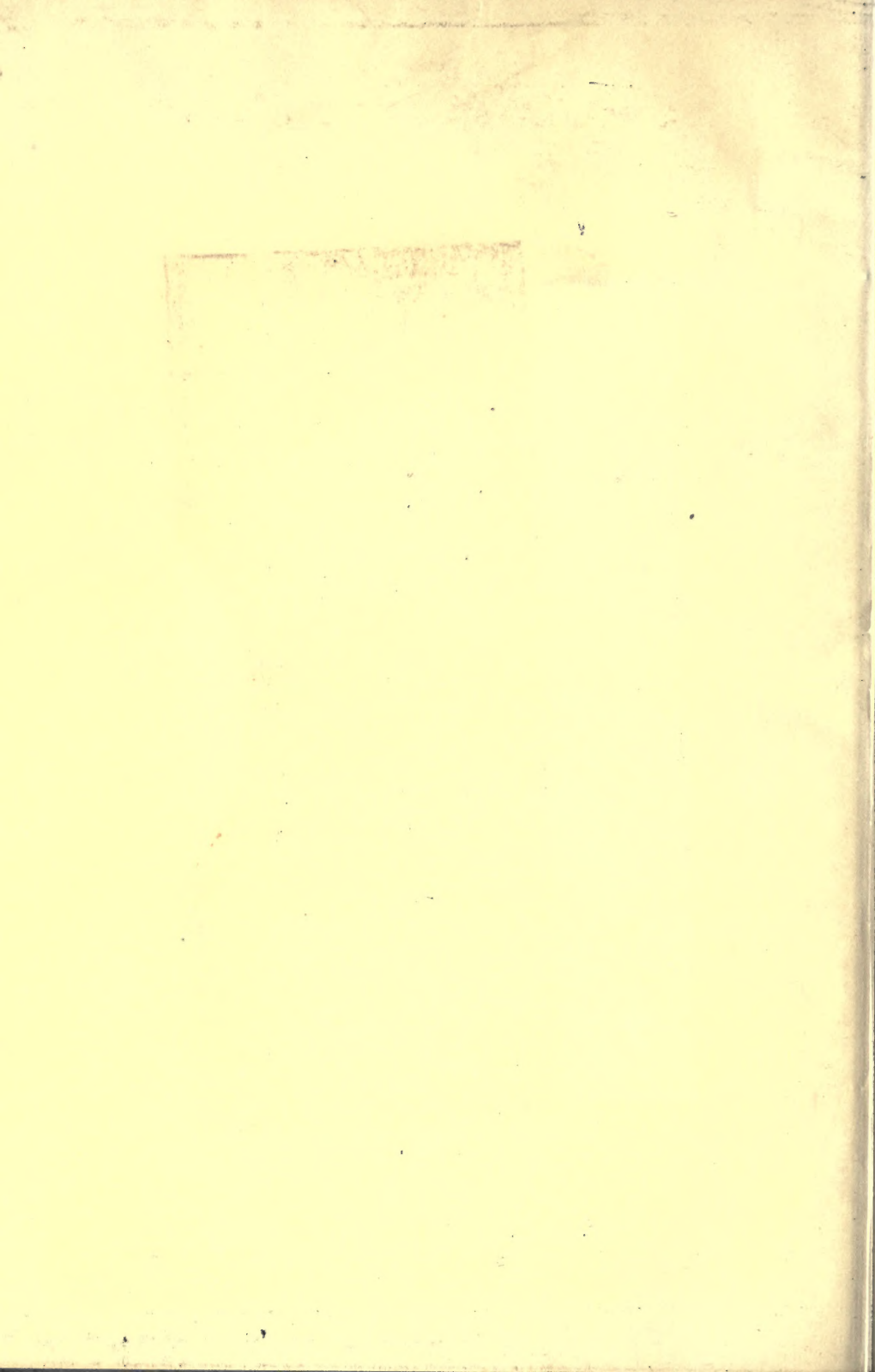
of commercial interests, gradually arising from changes of times and circumstances; or, in ordinary course of events possibly breaking, or wearing out, the more sentimental ties of Brotherhood.

If, then, the Fellowship be paramountly desirable, for both its own and universal consequence, unfailing care is needed to meet from time to time all threatening casualties, and adapt all ordinary conditions.

Fellowship is not to be maintained on abstract principles of protection; nor should it be subjected to rigid formularies of free-trade.

Economic as well as constitutional freedom are both essential to British Co-partnership. Under central sovereignty there must be local freedom. To use words of Burke: "As long as the sovereign authority of this country is the sanctuary of liberty, the sons of England will rally to it, and the only possible bond will hold which can preserve the Unity of the Empire."





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